

New India

— FORTNIGHTLY —

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FOUR ANNAS

BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

*Text drafted by the Executive Committee of the Committee on Human Rights
of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.*

Article 1. The provisions of this bill of rights shall be deemed fundamental principles of international law and of the national law of each of the signatory States to be realized by appropriate action of international and national agencies.

Article 2. The rights and freedoms declared in this document, both separately and in their appropriate relationship with each other, shall apply to every person and shall be respected and observed without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Article 3. In the exercise of his rights every person is limited by the rights of others and by the just requirements of the democratic State.

Article 4. Every person has the right to protection of life and liberty under law.

Article 5. Every person has the right to freedom of conscience and belief and freedom of religious association, teaching, practice, and worship.

Article 6. Every person has the right to form and hold opinions and to receive opinions and information made available from any source.

Article 7. Every person has the right to freedom of expression through all means of communication including speech, press, radio, and art.

Article 8. Every person has the right to assembly peaceably with others.

Article 9. Every person has the right to form with others associations of a political, economic, religious, social, educational, cultural, scientific, or any other character for purposes not inconsistent with these articles.

Article 10. Every person has the right, individually or with others, to petition appropriate national and international agencies for redress of grievances.

Article 11. Every person has the right, in his capacity as citizen, to take part in the government of his State.

Article 12. Every person has the right to freedom from arbitrary searches and seizures and from unreasonable interference with his person, home, reputation, privacy, activities, and property.

Article 13. Every person has the right to have any criminal and civil liabilities with which he may be charged and his rights thereunder determined

without undue delay and in fair public trial by an impartial tribunal, before which he has the opportunity for a full hearing, and has the right to consult with and to be represented by counsel.

Article 14. Every person has the right to freedom from conviction and punishment for crime except as provided by law—local, national or international—in effect at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offense.

Article 15. Every person has the right to freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention, and every person who is arrested or detained has the right to an immediate judicial determination of the legality of his detention and to notice of the charges on which he is detained.

Article 16. Every person has the right to education, and the State has a duty to require that every child within its jurisdiction receive education of the primary standard; to maintain or insure that there are maintained facilities for such education which are adequate and free; and to promote the development of facilities for further education which are adequate and effectively available to all its residents.

Article 17. Every person has the right to social security. The State has the duty to maintain or insure that there are maintained comprehensive arrangements for the promotion of health, for the prevention of sickness and accident, and for the provision of medical care and of compensation for loss of livelihood and for insuring that all its residents have an opportunity to obtain adequate food and housing.

Article 18. Every person has the right to receive from the State assistance in the exercise of his right to work; and the State has the duty to promote stability of employment, to insure proper conditions of labour, and to fix minimum standards of just compensation.

Article 19. Every State has the duty to provide effective measures for the enforcement within its jurisdiction of the rights and freedoms herein declared, and the United Nations shall take measures to carry out the provisions of the Charter to safeguard these rights and freedoms throughout the world.

—*International Conciliation*, (No. 426).

NEW WAY FOR THE OLD WORLD

BY MARY C. RAO

India will be free by June 1948. Should she continue to employ the primitive and inefficient methods for fear of throwing more people out of employment or should she switch over to the use of modern efficient machines?

Mrs. Mary C. Rao, an American citizen, is on a visit to her home in Poland, Ohio, and she feels that the notion prevalent in India that labour-saving machines would create un-employment is fallacious. Mrs. Rao has spent several years in India and the contrast between the two countries—her motherland America and her adopted motherland—India, is staggering. In this article, specially written, she compares the relative prosperity of the two countries and pleads for the adoption of the New Way (American Way) for the Old World (India).

It is said that distance lends enchantment and also that it gives perspective to objects. From a distance of ten thousand miles and after an absence of nine years in India, I returned to the United States. I find that some things have changed much and others surprisingly little. Looking at this new world through eyes accustomed to India, two things impress me most. One is the apparent well-being of almost all the people everywhere. They all seem to be well-fed and comfortably clothed. Another thing is the high standard of living of the people.

Now it would seem that the standard of living is the result of a combination of brain and brawn of the people applied to raw materials. In America and Canada this combination has resulted in thousands and thousands of miles of really good roads, millions of motor cars, in enough money that almost everyone can have a car, and in good schools of every description, most of them free in the earlier classes. Children have free education for twelve years and must go to school until they are sixteen years old. This educational system works in rural places as well as in the cities. Then, there are electric lights and good water supply and modern drainage in almost all towns of more than a few houses, and there are shops full of the fruits of industry of the people: food, clothes, household furnishings and novelties, labour-saving machines of some kind are almost in every home. In many towns one cannot see anything that can be called a slum.

Poverty, comparative poverty, there is. It is due to various causes, such as sickness and lack of industry. But the children of such homes are cared for by the State, as are the sick, the old and the unfortunate. Unrest and complaining are, no doubt, evident. But, in general, it is from a standard of considerable comfort that people wish to rise to what may be called luxury. Another striking thing to me is that, compared to the earning power of the people, the things that one must buy are not too costly. Many things are actually cheaper in America than in India.

Now, I reverse the glass and look back at India, which has the perspective of distance, if not of time. It was my good fortune to visit many places in India and to get to know something about life in many parts of the country. I know of the great size of the land, of its many resources, and of the millions of the people who work heart-breakingly hard. And what is the result? There are few good roads and fewer cars; almost everyone looks poor and thin and over-worked. The houses of most of the people cannot be called houses at all—many of them are not fit for human beings to live in. Shops are badly managed and prices of most things are high. What might cost a half day's work in the United States might easily cost a week's work in India. Most of the children never go to school at all, and those who do

often go to ill-equipped schools and pay school fees for the privilege!

All these things everyone knows. The important thing is: what can be done about it? One or two things come to my mind. The notion is far too prevalent in India that the use of modern efficient machines will result in unemployment, and that in order to keep people employed, primitive and less efficient methods should be continued. Labour-saving machines are still discounted for fear they would create unemployment. The idea seems to be higher efficiency—greater unemployment. This is a fallacy. There might have been something to it if there was nothing or little to do in India. As a matter of fact, there is so much to do in India that all the labour available may not be equal to it. India must stop wasting valuable time and labour when so much needs to be done to improve the standard of living of the people. Think of the schools to be built; the teachers to be trained; the roads to be made; the houses to be built; the books to be written and printed and distributed; the buses, the trains the ships and aeroplanes needed; the food and clothing and all the other essentials of good-living that have yet to be provided for the millions. It is criminal waste that a multitude of labourers should be asked to carry small head-loads of earth, when a modern machine could do the same work in a fraction of the time and with a fraction of the workers and with a fraction of drudgery. The labour so saved may and should be used for other and more urgent needs of the community. Higher efficiency would mean greater and more diversified employment not, less.

All children should be released from labour and sent to school. Most of the women, who now work for wages, should also be released from that necessity and be free to look after their families and homes and their neglected children. The money for the upkeep of the family would and should be earned by the father, who, if he worked in a modern efficient way, could produce so much wealth that he could be paid more than what the entire family now earns. The mothers in their homes could take more advantage of the money by doing a better job of feeding the family and of keeping the home clean and sanitary. This would mean better health, which, in its turn, would mean less work-days lost and more efficient work and better wages.

Along with this, the food of the people should be increased by using modern methods of production, which will mean fewer people needed to do the job. The people who could be released from the land could help to process the food—drying, freezing and canning, so that none of the food would go to waste.

Now the public in India have very little purchasing power. If work is more efficiently organised, things will be cheaper, and more people can buy more of

(Concluded on p. 6)

New India

Benares City

15 March 1947

Let those who work for the Mother forget everything save her Cause. Let the Mother, when she comes among her children, find love in their hearts, courage in their actions, that we may be worthy to welcome to her throne that mightiest and holiest of Nations—the Indian people. —ANNIE BESANT.

Solving the Deadlock

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has expressed its considered opinion on Premier Attlee's statement in regard to British Government's decision to withdraw from India not later than June 1948. As was mentioned in debates in both the Houses of British Parliament by the Government spokesmen that the decision to withdraw will induce the Indian political parties to make a more realistic approach to India's problem, one is happy to find that the Congress resolution does reveal a spirit of conciliation and accommodation with a view to settling India's political problems in an amicable manner. All those who are interested in India's national progress will heartily welcome the invitation which the Congress has extended to the Muslim League for a common meeting between the representatives of these two major political parties of India in order to devise ways and means to "prepare themselves jointly and co-operatively for this transfer of power, so that it may be effected peacefully and to the advantage of all." This is indeed a very statesmanlike move and we earnestly hope that the Muslim League will respond to this invitation and agree to collaborate with the Congress in this common work of shaping India's destiny at this most critical period in the life of this country. All the political parties in India must now realize that they cannot turn to the British Government for arbitration or award, and so they must settle their problems either by common agreement or by the senseless method of lawlessness, as was displayed in Bengal and Bihar and that is now being displayed in the Punjab. The whole country is breathlessly waiting for the reaction of the Muslim League to the invitation which the Congress has extended to them. As the support of the British bayonet is out of the question, the Muslim League must realize that there are only two ways open to it: to come to terms with the Indian National Congress, or to plunge the country into a state of civil war, the outcome of which must inevitably be to weaken both the Hindus and the Muslims, thus delaying Indian deliverance.

The Indian National Congress has laid down in its recent resolution a very sound principle for common agreement to which the Muslim League cannot take any objection. The Congress Working Committee says:

".....there can and should be no compulsion in the making of a constitution for India. It is the fear of compulsion or coercion that has given rise to distrust and suspicion and conflict. If this fear goes, as it must, it will be easy to determine India's future so as to safeguard the rights of all communities and to give equal opportunities to all."

The Muslim League should heartily endorse this statement and join the Congress in the task of constitution-making on the basis of "no compulsion

or coercion." If certain large sections of people in the country want to remain out of the Indian Union, no power can compel them to remain in it. By the application of the same principle, if certain large groups of people want to be associated with the Indian Union, no authority can compel them to remain out of it. Unwilling partners in the future Commonwealth of India would strike at the very integrity of the Indian State. The recent history of Europe is too full of such happenings where unwilling minorities have caused disintegration in the body politic of a nation. If large sections of Muslims in the North-Western and the Eastern zones do not want to remain in the Indian Union, they cannot be compelled to join the Union, as such compulsion would weaken the very basis of Indian Democracy. But in the same manner, large section of Hindus and Sikhs in these parts cannot be compelled to remain out of the Union; and if such compulsion is exercised, the province or provinces that choose to remain out of the Union will have to spend all their time and energy and resources in suppressing these communities and deny to them the right to enjoy civic liberties. In short, such province or provinces will be in state of perpetual civil war. The Muslim League, therefore, should have no objection to supporting the following statement contained in the Congress resolution:

"It has been made clear that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will apply only to those areas which accept it. It must also be understood that any province or part of a province which accepts the constitution and desires to join the Union cannot be prevented from doing so. Thus there must be no compulsion either way, and the people will themselves decide their future. This peaceful and co-operative method is the only way to make democratic decisions with the maximum of consent."

The All-India Muslim League in their sessions held at Lahore and Madras have, while putting forward a demand for Pakistan, accepted the principle of "territorial adjustments". What does this territorial adjustments mean except re-distribution of provinces in the interest of smooth and efficient administration? The partition of the Punjab as suggested by the Congress in its recent resolution, and the partition of Bengal as sponsored by some nationalists, is nothing but a territorial adjustment in the interest of all concerned. It is possible that the North-Western districts of the Punjab, which are seventeen in number, may decide to remain out of the Union. In that case they must be free to do so, but it is also possible that the South-Eastern districts of the Punjab, which are twelve in number, may choose to remain in the Indian Union. They must certainly be free to do so. This will imply a territorial adjustment so far as the present province of the Punjab is concerned. According to the 1941 census the North-West Punjab has a population of 74% Muslims and 26% Hindus and Sikhs, while the South-East Punjab has 57% Hindus and Sikhs and 33% Muslims. Justice and fairness demand that the 74% Muslims of the North-West Punjab cannot decide the future of the 67% Hindus and Sikhs of the South-East Punjab.

Thus if the Muslim League is prepared to rule out coercion and compulsion in settling India's political problems, there is no reason why the two major political parties should not come together and collaborate in the great task of framing India's constitution. In this hour of India's trial, we do hope wiser counsels will prevail in Muslim League circles, so that India may enter the new era of Freedom in an atmosphere of peace and happiness.

—ROHIT MEHTA.

KHADI VS MILL CLOTH

The Indian way of hero-worship is quite different from that of the Westerner. Churchill who was worshipped by the people as a demi-god in war-time England was simply thrown away when the crisis was over. But the hero-worshippers in India are often seen to stick to the same hero for all things in time and out of time. The greatness of Gandhiji as a national leader is beyond dispute. But whether his economic ideas based on medieval village self-sufficiency is practical or even advisable as a long-term plan for the regeneration of India and the betterment of her starving millions is the doubt raised today, especially when such ideas are being forced on a people through political power. Even though the people are loudly protesting, even though the industrialists are standing against, yet the Madras Ministry thought it fit to thrust their textile policy on the province, simply on the strength of party discipline. 'Let not,' says Gandhiji, 'capitalists and other entrenched personages range themselves against the poor villagers and prevent them from bettering their hard lot by dignified labour.' If it actually comes to the betterment of the lot of the poor, then none will be more happy than ourselves. But there is room for doubt.

It is not a question of 'reputation' of the Ministry, or the 'practicability' of the scheme that matters; it is a question of the life and death of a nation. Is India to go back to medieval times or is she to advance on scientific lines? Are we to be contented with the meagre necessities of life working the whole day like animals, or are we to develop ways and means for further happiness, and find leisure for recreation and cultural development? Gandhiji asks, 'Did not India clothe herself without machine-made cloth in those ancient days and why not now?' In good old days people were wearing barks of trees, and even before that, they were contented to remain nude. Are we to imitate them now and use barks for clothing? Are we then to go back to the Stone Age or are we to advance? That is the crux of the problem. India cannot hold her own in this wide world of international competition, by a mere hand-to-mouth production. After all man is not an animal to work all the twelve hours of the day; nor can all be ascetics contented with mere necessities. Every one is striving after happiness—physical, mental, or spiritual. Only when a man has not to worry about his physical necessities can he think of higher things, and when there is leisure then only cultural development is possible.

Gandhiji writes in the *Harijan* of 27 October:

Is it chimerical to induce and expect the people to utilize their idle hours to do useful, national, honest labour? It will be time to declaim against the Madras government when there is a feasible scheme to find useful and more remunerative employment for all who need work.

If this scheme is intended only as an interim plan for unemployment till another scheme is found, then we have nothing to say against it. But an interim plan should have the germs of a long-range plan side by side. Encouraging the Khadi cloth while at the same time having plans for the total absorption of labour in large industries with decent wages, would have been highly beneficial. But the Madras scheme clearly shows that they do not intend it as an interim plan, but as a permanent feature of future India.

Writes the *Hindusthan Times* of 10 October:

The Chamber of Commerce presented a memorandum to the textile commissioner pointing out that the production drive of yarn and mill cloth was lagging behind and numerous applications for new spindles and looms have been turned down by the Madras government. The Chamber stated that

the attitude of the Madras government was hostile to mill production and existing textile mills were in a dangerous plight.

Of course this does not 'smack compulsion!' And Gandhiji's own idea is that 'the whole mill industry will be affected' (*Harijan*, 27 October).

The *Eastern Economist*, in an interview with Gandhiji, writes:

The entire case for Khadi, according to Gandhi, has been built on the firm basis of spinning requiring an hour's time of every available worker...and spinning was designed definitely as a spare time work. Considering the fact that the agriculturists are unemployed for practically three to four months in the year and have surplus time during the rest of the year...it is necessary for people to engage themselves in a useful occupation.

It is certainly chimerical to ask the poor people to spend their energy for labour which adds a few pice to their daily earnings when the same energy and labour can be directed to bring decent income to them. The proposal that the poor cultivators should work in their leisure hours on the Charka to add a few annas monthly is but a poor stopgap. While all over the world attempts are being made to reduce the hours of work and the cost of production so that all may get plenty of leisure and sufficient opportunity to fully develop their body, mind, and spirit, we are trying to lead India in just the opposite direction. The argument that our agriculturists have to pass three months in idleness is not fully correct. For one thing, it is not the case everywhere in India. In many places rotation crops for different seasons are cultivated. Then it is only because agriculture is not fully developed that in some parts they do not get full work. Instead of throwing upon them a new work, they should be helped to do their own work well by scientific methods, which will give them more profit and the country more food. The yield per acre in rice is only 1330 lbs in India, whereas it was 6232 lbs in pre-war Japan. It is no consolation to argue that the Charka will supplement the meagre income of the people. Instead of defending the meagre income from Charka by comparing it with the average low income of our people, our aim should be to increase that average so that they may live like human beings; and herein comes the necessity of improving the agriculture on scientific lines. If supplementary works are to be given one should look to such allied occupations as cattle-breeding, dairy-farming, poultry-farming, etc.

Again dealing with village self-sufficiency plan of Gandhiji, the *Eastern Economist* writes:

If handpounding of rice is to be done, if paper is to be made by hand, if other things too are to be made by hand, what would be the time left? Further did he expect the village woman working in the fields from morning to noon and having to cook and do other household duties to find time willingly to do an hour of spinning?

Nor is Khadi economic as pointed out by Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar:

Analyzing the Khadi scheme sponsored by the Premier of Madras and for which a grant of three crores had been made, Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar said that it implied that one of every five of the population should be compelled to spin. He pointed out that a proficient spinner could spin at most only three to four hanks a day. The scheme calculated at the rate of one hank per day per person for 360 days in the year. To spin this hank a beginner would take four hours a day and after doing this spinning whether he would be able to attend to any other work, and whether there would be any employer willing to engage him to work during his spare time is a problem. As for the handloom weavers many of them would be accustomed to higher counts and several to fine counts of silk and lace...Again it would involve wastage of cotton. He pointed out that preference to Khaddar would mean an economic waste of valuable material to the extent of 45 per cent. (*Hindu*, 12 November)

Sheer economic pressure will compel the Charka yarn to recede before the rising tide of mill yarn. And the scheme which makes Madras 'a sort of colony or market for being exploited by other provinces which are being allowed the freedom of making progress in the industry' has been supported by Bombay industrialists. Says Sir Victor Sassoon: 'From the point of view of the rest of India I have little doubt that Madras government would have considerable support from the industrialists in other provinces, only for the reason their quota of imported textile machinery can then be increased.'

Khaddar cannot, however, compete in the open market. Ever Mr. Kumaraswami Raja, Minister for Agriculture in the Madras cabinet, writes:

the Khaddar scheme could be worked only by government subsidy. That being the case the government cannot keep on subsidizing the scheme. Provincial self-sufficiency in the matter of cloth cannot be obtained through Khaddar alone.

Lastly, this kind of scheme for just self-sufficiency makes the future more terrible. One failure of

crop for a season at once plunges the land into devastating famines; and since no reserve is possible under Gandhiji's scheme, chronic famine and starvation may become the inevitable lot of the people. To quote again the *Eastern Economist*:

His (Gandhiji's) philosophy of individual spinning and village self-sufficiency will leave no margin of reserves—food, clothing, etc. Little calamities brought about by Nature or Man will be enough to upset this rudimentary structure and villagers may die in thousands for want of essential things. Secondly, how few of the men . . . would willingly accept his view of work and life? What is the use of setting up an ideal which few are likely to accept?

It is for all these reasons that we say that the Charka is at most a remedy for the present unemployment prevailing amongst the peasants. But it is not a real and lasting remedy for the grinding poverty of the masses. Industrial and agricultural development is necessary if India's potential resources are to be utilized and if India is to be enriched to the world standard.

—Prabuddha Bharata.

CULTURAL BROTHERHOOD

Culturally Asia is one entity. Whether China, or Japan, India or Burma, Indonesia or the Middle East, Asiatic culture stands for a definite aim, that of transcending the spheres of body and mind, as against the Western ideal of external happiness. This inherent unity, cut asunder by the medieval political plannings, is again being realized, and thanks to the Asiatic Art and Culture Conference, the various nations are again being brought into closer contact. Opening the Conference Sri Rajagopalachari rightly remarked that Asia which has the oldest and grandest culture, holds a unique place in the cultural hegemony of the world at large:

Asia is one by its culture, by its art. But what is true is often not seen. Hence it is that we fail to see the importance of art and culture. We fail to see the unity of Asiatic culture. But many eminent men have now begun to see unity where it exists and to develop unity where it has been somewhat impaired. Attempts have been made recently by them to bring about unity of culture in Asia and thereby bring it about in the world.

Asia has a part to play in the world's culture, being the oldest civilization on the face of the earth. Europe's culture is very beautiful, its civilization is very attractive but I do not know whether there is more wisdom in Asiatic culture or in European culture. I think there are men in Europe who are doubting the beauty of their own culture.

As Swami Vivekananda says every nation has its own characteristics. The life of one nation is predominated by politics, another social improvement, yet another economic progress. But in India the ideal has always been religion. More broadly, Europe stands for external civilization, while Asia always puts more importance in the development of inner culture and perfection of character. Though for the last few decades European civilization has made many an inroad into Asiatic thoughts, and disturbed and sometimes stunted its inner growth, still this tremendous spiritual upsurge, which is the very life of Asia, cannot be destroyed; for it is the resultant of thousands of years of perseverance and practice. Though sometimes we are doubtful whether other things are more important than our culture, still we know in our heart of hearts that everything is evanescent, impermanent, fleeting, and only the inner culture will stand by us when all others fail.

Remarking that sometimes small things looked big, and *vice versa*, and politics and constitution making are only a step towards human happiness and without the backing of right culture nothing can bring us happiness and peace, Sri Rajagopalachari said:

We cannot do without the State and all that it implies. Individuals cannot live good lives unless there is a State and

a good State requires a good government. Politics, therefore, is important only as a means to happiness. If we do not achieve happiness there is no object in having a constitution. Philosophers, poets, and wise men in the ages have found that for collective happiness culture is most important.

As Ruskin has said about books, there are books of the day and books of the morrow. So too, these politics and economics, though they predominate our life at the moment, are only of the day, of passing interest, and the moment that pressure is lifted we care to bother about them no more. But there is something which is of perennial interest, of permanent value, and without which life seems empty. It is only because India held fast to her spiritual life, that in spite of the hundreds of years of invasions and foreign rule, she is still vigorous and powerful while every other civilization has died out unmourned and uncared for. It is, therefore, important that India, and for that matter Asia, looked at herself, realized her own great and glorious place in the world and put her culture in a presentable form before the modern countries who, torn by wars and dissatisfied by their philosophy, are thirsty for real peace. 'All those,' says Sri Rajagopalachari 'who are interested in the revival of general happiness in the country must take interest in this work of renovating, re-uniting and re-establishing the ancient culture of this land'.—Prabuddha Bharata (March, 1947).

New India

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To The Editor

1

Sir,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr. Dalton, rightly claims compensation from India for protecting her in the last war against the debts due to India by England. Had not the British Government in India fixed an arbitrary ratio between the pound and the rupee, the debt to India would have been double the present figure. In the first World War the pound dropped to Rs. 6/- because the rate of exchange was not tampered with. I hope the Chancellor will take this into account.

—F. H. DASTUR.

2

Dear Editor,

I have seen your paper "New India" at the Punjab University Library, Lahore. I like the spirit of your paper: unity and goodwill towards all. There is a French proverb "To understand is to love". I have toured the whole of India and lectured about communal unity. We must study each other's culture and imbibe the spirit of toleration.

In order to explain the Islamic Ideals to our Hindu and Christian brothers, I have published a book entitled *Mohammad and the Teachings of Quran*. The introduction is by Dr. Tara Chand, M. A. I shall be glad to send a copy of my book free of charge to any reader of your paper who is interested in communal unity and wants to know and understand Muslim Ideals and sentiments.

I am sending you my book today by registered post. I wish your paper "New India" every success and pray for your long life and good health.

The book can be obtained free by writing to me c/o Post Master, Lahore.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- MUHAMMAD AMIN,

Lahore, 25th February, 1947. Barrister-at-Law.

(We have since received a copy of this interesting book which will be shortly reviewed in NEW INDIA. Those wishing to take advantage of the author's generous offer may do so by addressing him directly as follows: Mr. Muhammad Amin, Barrister-at-Law, 18, The Palms, Church Road, Lahore.

—Mg. Ed.)

3

WHITHER INDIA?

Unconsciously or semi-consciously, with professions of love for their countrymen and co-religionists

New Way for the Old World:

them, and more jobs will thus be created. That is the way it works everywhere else, and there is no reason why it would not be so in India.

Many people in India are too fond of saying: "India is a poor country" and using it as an excuse and reason for not doing the things which should be done. India is not poor really any more than a miser is poor because he does not want to use his wealth. India has great resources in men and raw materials. All that is lacking is the mobilization of the men and the materials. Starting people to think that they can do things as well as other people will be most difficult but it *must* be done. Some big industries cannot be started by individuals, but the Government is already making plans to get the "heavy" industries going.

Nehru and Jinnah are playing the same part which Hitler and Mussolini played in their respective countries. The only remedy is independence in coalition with Britain under the name and title Indo-British Commonwealth. Our reasons seriatim:—

(1) If India does not like to be called a dominion, the designation Indo-British serves more than her self-respect for Indo leads British.

(2) The British Government will hand over power to the centre, if there is union; if not, to such parts as are unwilling to join the centre, but capable of administering themselves. The provinces where Mohammadan ministers function to-day are encouraged to hold on, for they are sure of Pakistan there, and will try to capture other provinces like the Punjab and the Frontier as they are doing to-day.

Again most of the first class Indian states will have good excuse to stand out of the centre in the hope of enjoying full powers in their own territories with or without a simulacrum of a council duly elected by popular votes. Thus instead of two divisions—Hindustan and Pakistan—there will be fragmentation of India with its resultant weakness and chaos.

(3) The Mohammadan Provinces in case of a dispute with their Hindu neighbours will summon to their aid the outlying Mohammadan powers like Persia, Afghanistan and Egypt with the war-cry "Islam in danger". Remember Nadirshah and Babar.

The expansionist policy of Russia is another danger India should take into account. UNO is still far off.

(4) India has no army, no navy, no equipment of modern type, and if there is no strong centre, in case of internecine war or foreign aggression each separate unit will have to fend for itself. It is not an illusory picture. Read the early history of India.

(5) If there is civil war, which is not unlikely, there will be repetition of the Bengal and Bihar tragedy all over India in an intenser form, for there will be no restriction on arms and ammunition, and the hooligans who are spoiling for loot, will have a free scope for their activities.

(6) England and America are gradually uniting with indissoluble ties, and if Independent India makes a common cause with this powerful combination by treaties or otherwise, she will have everything to gain.

(7) If the reported Lord Wavell's policy of immediate scuttling out had been enforced, all the disasters envisaged in para (5) above would have precipitated even now, with what consequences it is not difficult to imagine.

(8) Is it madness that has overtaken India? I libel India and her peace-loving but ignorant millions, who blindly follow to their doom the leaders who have no vision.

Nasik, 27-2-47.

F. H. DASTUR.

Continued from p. 2.

We need the other smaller trades organised too. They can start in a small way and grow with time and experience.

One way to realise money quickly is to organise the handicrafts of India, of artistic merit, good workmanship and real quality. Another method of attracting foreign money is to improve and extend the tourist traffic and trade. The arrangements should include honest salesmen to deal with tourists, who will charge as much as is necessary and would be businesslike and dependable. Countries like Italy and Switzerland, France and Japan considered tourist trade as a big industry before the war cut them off from travellers. Even now countries like the U.S.A. and Canada and Mexico are doing much to attract

tourists. India, with some of the most ancient and beautiful buildings, a way of life that has all the charm of novelty and interest that strangeness gives, food that could be world-famous, and crafts that are attractive, India should make fuller use of her assets

and talents, and in so doing, help others to understand and love the country even while they pay for a better life for future Indians.

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INDUSTRIALIZATION

Ideas rule the world. While elected Indians will be forging a new Constitution for the Motherland and while the popular elected governments in the Provinces are engaged in constructive work and in combating famine and black marketeers, the important task of the near future, the tilling of the mental soil for right sowing, should not be neglected. The tendency of "educated" Indians to copy indiscriminately Western institutions, industrial and commercial, social and political, needs to be examined. Some detachment, *vairagya*, is necessary for this.

It is obvious that this era will not permit India to revert to the idyllic life of ancient days. But in planning industries, a further impoverishment of the already impoverished 700,000 villages may result, if that planning is to follow the pattern of large-scale industrialization of Western countries. Indian conditions will not respond to such planning without bringing about moral degradation.

The truth should most certainly not be overlooked or glossed over that the present pitiable state of Europe (and the labour difficulties in "wealthy" U.S.A.) are due to industrialization and over-production, leading to competition and war. What kind then of industrialization will transform India's 700,000 groups of hovels into smiling hamlets? The answer to this question must be found, and it will be, if the problem is kept in the forefront. Unfortunately most educated Indians, including many Congress Party reformers intent on serving their country, forget the fundamental fact that the flourishing large-scale industries of Europe and the U.S.A. have not brought stability and peace, moral advancement or even bodily health to their populations.

Madame Blavatsky gave a timely warning to the world during the last quarter of the last century regarding the impending chaos of the "materialistic civilization", but the warning was not heeded.

Gandhiji repeated the warning in the first quarter of the present century to the whole world, *but to India in particular*.

The late Alexis Carrel, great thinker and researcher that he was, wrote:—"We are unhappy. We degenerate morally and mentally. The groups and the nations in which industrial civilization has attained its highest development are precisely those which are becoming weaker. And whose return to barbarism is most rapid. *But they do not realise it.* They are without the protection against the hostile surroundings that science has built around them."

But what makes modern industrialization so obnoxious to the bodily, moral and mental health of humanity? How have educated men become the slaves of the machines? Why has the machine become a foe of man's soul, mind and body?

Writes J. C. Kumarappa, Secretary of the All India Village Industries Association: "Where industries are left in private hands in a competitive society it becomes necessary to reduce the cost of production to the furthest limit. The chief item the manufacturer would like to see reduced is the labour cost *which does not affect himself*. This is usually the source of industrial strife and violence. Also as the effective demand has a direct relation to the pur-

chasing power of the community any curtailing of the labour cost destroys demand and causes over-production—ultimately a trade depression in the economic cycle. To set economic organization going again the producer has to sell abroad in a market controlled politically by the superiority in arms of the producing country. *By its very nature this system is intended to concentrate rather than distribute wealth. Centralized production calls for violence at every step.* Centralized production means control over the lives of others so as to make them fall in line with *our* plans. It means destruction of other people's freedom, destruction of human lives, depriving other nations of their birth-right of employment in converting their own raw materials into consumable goods. It means the production of machines of destruction and the employment of millions of persons in the business of wholesale murder. These are essential for industrialization. Is India prepared to accept such terms for the doubtful advantage of having a multitude of material goods?"

The present world of machinery is one gigantic sphere of robbery. One class of men have had the upper hand in "thieving" for many decades; it is known as the Capitalist class. Now the other, so far the under-dog, is trying to be on top; it is known as the Labour class.

In Communist Russia this is supposed to have been accomplished, and many believe that there the capitalist is no more and that all men are equal and enjoy liberty of life in pursuit of happiness. But Russia has now shown herself ruthlessly imperialistic and capitalistic, and its red record should be an eye-opener to all Indians, especially to the youths who shout slogans without study.

Men of modern knowledge have become men of gross living. The so-called high standard of living (which it seems to be the purpose of many to introduce in India) is poor in idealism, devoid of high thinking and of that simplicity which is necessary for the perception and the expression of Beauty.

The danger which is upon the race springs from the curse of separateness. Integration achieved in the collective life of the people of the Earth would lead to rapid, harmonious and all-round growth. That integration has many aspects. One of them is that which should subsist between man and machine. These two are not friends and brothers at present.

The root of the evils of the modern system of industrialization is false knowledge about Nature and about Mind in and of Nature. The hour is auspicious to apply the ancient truth to the modern problem of industrialization. Immortality, true happiness, is won when the human mind cooperates with the mind of Nature.

India must establish a new way of Industrialization in which human minds, heads and hearts cooperate to serve Nature, the living Mother. Through knowledge, through acts of sacrifice—using machines as the utensils of such rites—India will receive from Nature the Grace of True Prosperity.

—A Tract issued by the United Lodge of Theosophists, Bombay.

PROMOTING VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

That the revival and promotion of village industries is a moral and not so much an economic problem is the keynote of the report submitted by the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay under the chairmanship of Mr. Manu Subedar, M.L.A. (Central).

The Committee was asked to consider and report on the promotion of rural handicrafts and industries, including different forms of State aid, and also to consider what restrictions, if any, should be placed on the movement of raw materials for industries in rural areas from the point of view of utilising local resources for local consumption, processing or manufacture.

The Committee set before itself the task of studying the problem from the point of view of "rural humanity" and after careful consideration recommends the establishment of State-managed village industry centres in selected villages, in the first instance and later in a large number. This will guarantee employment and social insurance to the labour pool in rural areas which consist of young persons, old persons, women and able-bodied unemployed and partially-employed men, who possess little or no skill.

Mass Production Centres

In the Committee's opinion, there should be one centre for mass production of one type and one size of article to be produced in one village. The services of at least three skilled artisans should be requisitioned to conduct these centres. If Government desire children could also join these centres daily for three hours.

Adults working at these centres should get a starting wage of four annas rising to eight annas a day after they acquire skill, while children should get one anna daily improving to four annas when they acquire skill.

All transport, maintenance of stores and accounts, provision of skilled labour as a nucleus, engagement of funds in purchase of raw materials, arranging, distribution and sale of finished goods must be undertaken by the State, says the Committee.

Location of centres should follow availability of raw material, transport, railway stations and proximity to concerns producing intermediate goods.

Articles of general use, preferably those which will be used in rural areas, will be produced at these centres. The Committee divides these articles into three groups viz. 'A' 'B' and 'C' crafts involving minimum skill, and light labour being classed as 'A', and those requiring complicated processes and larger skill being indicated in groups 'B' and 'C'. It is suggested that higher prices for articles produced at these centres should necessarily be charged for urban areas and export.

Provincial Board

For wise and efficient direction to guide the village centres and the cloth production schemes, the Committee recommends the establishment of a Provincial Board consisting of three officials and three non-officials. There will also be a Board in each district more or less on the same lines. The Provincial Board will have to map out a key plan for organising and running the village centres.

The Committee pays special attention to the problem of the rural weaver and makes recommendations "which will be fool-proof and which cannot but yield results". One of these recommendations is that in the supply of yarn to village handlooms and sale

of cloth produced by them, middlemen should be completely eliminated.

Other recommendations suggest that all handlooms should continue to be registered and licensed. Government should acquire yarn from mills on a closely examined cost basis and supply it to weavers. Government should also take over the cloth, guaranteeing to the handloom weaver a full living wage according to rural conditions. Arrangements for the disposal of Government cloth at Government Sales Depots will have to be made grading the price up, when sold in urban areas.

Another important recommendation is the setting up of a research organisation for the improvement of handlooms to secure better skill, more speed, more production and less exertion to the worker.

Three-Year Plan

The Committee has recommended a three-year plan for fighting the present cloth scarcity as well as for providing a fillip to the rural weaving industry. According to this scheme, each village will be supplied with one bale of cotton by Government. A village Panch would distribute this cotton for hand-spinning. Steps will be taken to bring down the prices of Charkhas by manufacturing them in jails, if possible. Villages may be supplied up to 50 charkhas by Government free of charge for the use of the families of the Depressed Classes or landless people.

As regards the finance required for the work emanating from the Committee's recommendations, it is suggested that a non-recurring grant of Rs. 1 crore should be earmarked by Government. It is to be used initially both for capital and for current purposes. The recurring expenditure every year would be of the order of about Rs. 20 lakhs, but a recurring grant of Rs. 30 lakhs a year would leave provision for expanding and consolidating the various schemes, says the Committee.

Licences for Factories

The aggressive private factory enterprise, the Committee says, should be regulated. Government should register and license all existing factories. No new factory should be started without getting a licence from the Provincial Board, which will not refuse licences without judicious consideration. Price equalisation for the products of factories and cottage industries should take the form of an excise tax or sales tax on machine production.

Farm products should be processed, as far as possible locally and transport charges for unprocessed commercial crops and products coming to urban areas should be increased. Licences for the sale and distribution of factory products entering rural areas might be instituted. The problems of oil ghani and gur deserve close investigation.

The Committee recommends that Government should immediately set up the necessary organisation of the Provincial and District Boards. It further suggests that all recommendations of the Committee may be given a full trial in one of the selected districts of the Province.

The Report makes it clear that the Committee has deliberately put in basic economic thought on the subject, giving the main structure of what is required and leaving the matter sufficiently elastic for Government and the Provincial Board to adjust. It is the desire of the Committee that the basic ideas embodied in the report should be useful to other provinces as well — *The Times of India*.